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JOSH BROOMAN

CONTENTS

Part One: Making peace

	Introduction	1
1	Great suffering. . .	2
2	Great expectations. . .	4
3	Germany re-made: the Treaty of Versailles	6
4	Europe re-shaped: the other Paris Peace Treaties	8
5	The League of Nations	10
	Revision guide: the Paris Peace Treaties	12

Part Two: A good peace?

	Introduction	13
6	War in Poland, wars in Russia	14
7	Crisis in Italy	16
8	Hatred in Turkey	18
9	Reparation and ruin in Germany	20
10	The League of Nations at work	22
	Revision guide: the 'little wars' of 1919–1925	24

Part Three: Improving the peace

	Introduction	25
11	Improving the peace – a simulation game	26
12	Improving the peace – Locarno and the 'new era'	30
	Revision exercises	32

PART ONE

MAKING PEACE



The men in this photograph are hoping to catch a glimpse of one of the most important events of the twentieth century.

The place is the Hall of Mirrors in the palace of Versailles, 16 kilometres west of Paris. The time is 3 o'clock on Saturday 28 June 1919. Behind the glass doors, politicians are signing a peace treaty with Germany.

The politicians have come from all over the world. Their aim is to bring an end to the Great War of

1914 – 18, and to make sure that there will never again be a world-wide war. They will not succeed. Twenty years after they blot their signatures dry, a second world war will begin.

This book is in three parts. The first shows you what the politicians hoped and expected to achieve by making treaties. The second shows how their treaties were ignored. The third invites you to decide where they went wrong and to suggest how they might have done better.

1

GREAT SUFFERING . . .

Before you read about the peace treaties made in Paris in 1919, you need to know why they were necessary and why they were important.

When nations fight wars, they usually expect to win. More important, they expect to get something in return for winning – perhaps land or money or more power. The harder they fight the more they suffer, so the more they expect to get.

Every nation which fought in the Great War of 1914 – 18 suffered greatly. The victorious Allies naturally expected to gain a great deal while the defeated Central Powers could only hope for mercy. Look now at what each nation suffered:

France

The worst of the fighting took place in France. During four and a half years of savage warfare, an area larger than Wales was totally ruined. Good farm land was churned into useless mud by millions of high-explosive shells. Countless farm animals disappeared into soldiers' cooking pots. Over two million people had to flee from their homes, three-quarters of a million of which were destroyed. So too were 23,000 of the factories where these people worked. Some 5,600 kilometres of railway line and 48,000 kilometres of roads were wrecked. Worst of all, 1,400,000 French soldiers were killed and another 2,500,000 were wounded in the fighting.

The ruins of Ypres, Belgium 1918

Belgium

The Great War started in Belgium when the German armies swept through it for their attack on France. Most of the country was occupied by Germany for four years, during which the Germans stripped machinery from the factories, took crops and rationed food, melted church bells to make guns, and shot rebels. Flanders, the one part of Belgium not occupied, was ruined by fighting and the old city of Ypres lay in rubble. Over 50,000 Belgian soldiers were now dead.

Britain

The British suffered less than either the French or the Belgians, for no part of their country was ever occupied by the enemy. But 750,000 British soldiers lay dead and 1,500,000 were wounded, many crippled for life. The British government was deeply in debt: it had spent nine billion pounds on the war and over one billion was borrowed money which would have to be repaid, mostly to the Americans.

Italy

The Italians joined the war in 1915 because the Allies promised to give them Austrian land when the fighting was over. By 1918 they felt they had done more than enough to earn their reward. Three years of fighting on their own soil had left 600,000 soldiers dead and north-east Italy devastated.



Russia

Russia was the only Allied country to surrender. Mass hunger and the deaths of 1,700,000 soldiers brought the country to its knees in 1917. Revolutions broke out and, at the end of the year, a communist government withdrew Russia's armies from the war. It had to pay a heavy price for surrender. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk which it signed with Germany took away all Russia's western provinces. One-third of all Russians found themselves under German rule.

The United States

The USA suffered least of all the countries involved in the war. American soldiers did not start fighting until late in 1917, and their loss of 116,000 men was small compared with that of the other Allies.

Germany

Germany's suffering was of a different kind. Very little fighting took place on her soil, so the country was not devastated in the way that France was. But nearly two million soldiers were killed in the war and by 1918 the country was exhausted. Then revolution swept through Germany, causing chaos. Worse, even after the fighting stopped, the British Navy blockaded Germany's ports to stop supplies getting in. It was a way of making sure that the German army could not renew the war, but the people who suffered were the ordinary people, the civilians. With the food ships unable to reach their ports, millions of Germans faced starvation.

The suffering of war

The other Central Powers also suffered heavy losses. The empire of Austria-Hungary lost 1,200,000 men



German children queue for soup in December 1918

and the Turkish Empire 325,000. Bulgaria lost just over 100,000.

Suffering came in other forms as well. In mid-1918, the tired and hungry people of Europe were hit by an epidemic of Spanish influenza. It was the greatest killer of the war. More than 25 million people all over the world died because of it.

By the end of 1918, then, the peoples of the world had suffered greatly. The leaders of the victorious nations were determined that such a war must never happen again. They must make treaties with the defeated countries to ensure a lasting peace.

Work section

- A. Make a table like the one below to show the number of soldiers killed in the war.

Allies: France _____
Belgium _____
Britain _____
Italy _____
Russia _____
The USA _____

Central Powers: Germany _____
Austria-Hungary _____
Bulgaria _____
Turkey _____

- B. Which country do you think suffered most in the Great War? Before answering, consider the following questions:
1. Which countries had enemy armies fighting on their soil?
 2. Which countries suffered damage to buildings, communications and farmland?
 3. Which country suffered the greatest loss of soldiers?
 4. In which countries did civilians suffer during the war?
- C. Study the photograph of German children queueing for soup in 1918.
1. Can you see anything in the photograph to suggest that they were from well-off families?
 2. Explain why Germans, even those who were well-off, were getting their meals from soup-kitchens like this one in 1918.
- D. Before going any further, make sure you understand what the word **treaty** means.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS . . .



The 'Big Three' in Paris, 28 June 1919. Woodrow Wilson, President of the USA is on the right. George Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France, is second from the left. David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Britain, is on the far left.

The Paris Peace Conference

You have seen the terrible damage done to nations by the Great War, and you can understand why the world's leaders wanted to make a peace that would last. They met in Paris in January 1919 to talk about how this could be done.

The Paris Peace Conference was the biggest peace conference ever held in the world's history. Hundreds of politicians from thirty-two nations gathered in Paris, each one full of his own ideas and his own expectations. However, three of them quickly took control of the talks. You can see them in the photograph above. Known as the 'Big Three', they were David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Britain, Georges Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France, and Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America. Unfortunately the three men had very different ideas and expectations about what needed to be done.

Clemenceau's aims were very straightforward – and

harsh. First, Germany must pay for the damage done to France in the war. The cost: 200,000,000,000 gold francs. Second, Germany must be made so weak that she could never attack France again. This would mean taking away much of her land, her industry and her armed forces. No wonder the French called Clemenceau 'The Tiger'.

Woodrow Wilson had very different ideas. His aim was to make future wars impossible by creating a fair peace. In a speech a year before he had already described fourteen ways in which he thought this could be done. These were the most important of Wilson's 'Fourteen Points':

1. There must be no more secret agreements between countries. If countries dealt openly with each other, there would be less suspicion and misunderstanding in the world.
2. Countries must reduce their armed forces and their weapons.

3. People living under the rule of foreign empires – for example the Czechs living in Austrian territory or the Poles living in Russian territory – must be allowed to form their own nations and choose their own governments. Wilson called this idea **national self-determination**.
4. All countries should belong to a new organisation for keeping peace in the world. Wilson suggested that the peace treaties should create a **League of Nations**.

Wilson also disagreed with Clemenceau that Germany should pay the cost of war damage. In his opinion, Germany was not the only country to blame for starting the war.

David Lloyd George agreed with many of Wilson's Fourteen Points. He could see that if the defeated nations were treated too harshly they would become angry and resentful, and that could cause trouble in the future. But the British public wanted Lloyd George to be tough with Germany. Like many of the French, they wanted to 'Hang the Kaiser' and to 'Make Germany Pay'. Newspaper owners and ambitious politicians encouraged such anti-German feelings in Britain. The poster below and this speech by a British MP were typical of the mood in Britain in 1918:

'The Germans are going to pay every penny; they are going to be squeezed, as a lemon is squeezed, until the pips squeak.'

Faced with this sort of opinion at home, it was difficult for Lloyd George to follow his own beliefs. For him, making a fair and lasting peace was very closely linked with taking revenge on Germany.

Making the peace

Because Woodrow Wilson was the only one of the Big Three who had detailed ideas for making peace, he quickly got his own way. The politicians spent the first two months of the Conference setting up the League of Nations which Woodrow Wilson wanted. Then they turned to the problem of national self-determination. Italian politicians demanded that Italians living under Austrian rule must be re-united with Italy. The Poles living in Russian, Austrian and German territory demanded a nation of their own. The Czechs and Yugoslavs wanted as much land as they could possibly get. The Peace Conference rapidly became a free-for-all in which the victors competed with each other to carve up the lands of the defeated powers.

The only countries which did not take part in the free-for-all were Germany, Hungary, Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey, the defeated powers whose future the Conference was shaping. Neither was communist Russia allowed to take part. As the Conference went on, some politicians began to wonder whether they were doing the right things. One of the British officials wrote in his diary 'Are we making a good peace? Are we? Are we?'

Work section

- A. Why do you think Clemenceau wanted a harsher peace treaty than either Wilson or Lloyd George?
- B. Suggest reasons why Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson were able to take control of the talks at the Paris Peace Conference.
- C. Study this British poster of 1919, then answer these questions:
 1. Describe what the German is doing in the first five scenes on the poster.
 2. a) What impression of the Germans do you think the artist was trying to give?
b) Why might many British people in 1919 have agreed with this impression?
c) Why would most people disagree with it today?
 3. What do you think the poster was trying to persuade British people to do?

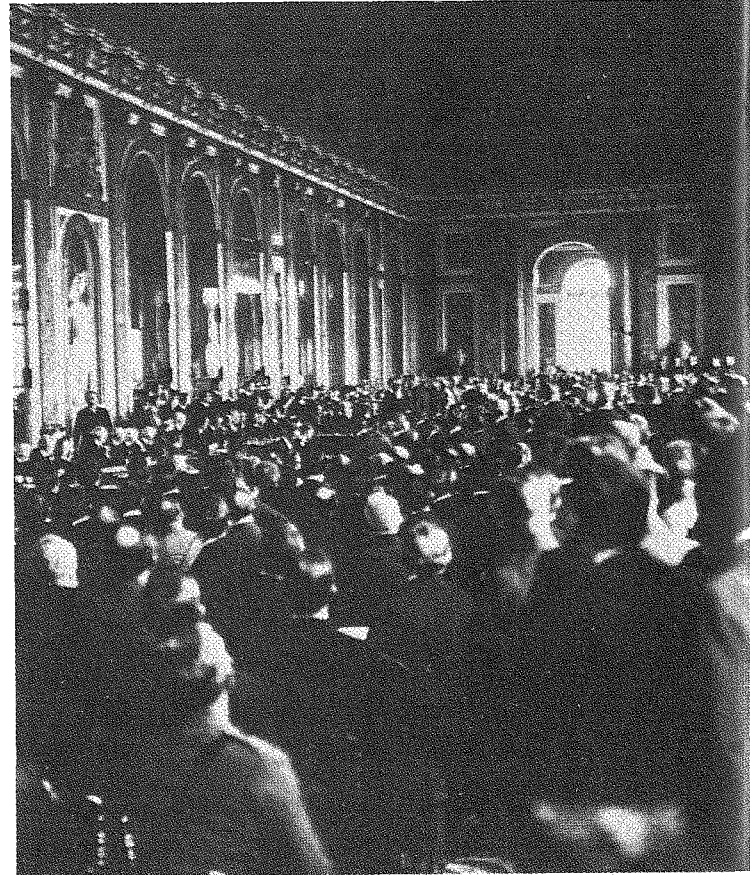


GERMANY RE-MADE THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

On 28 June 1919, the politicians left Paris and went by train to Versailles, 16 kilometres away. There, in the famous royal palace, they signed the first of the treaties they had spent so long discussing.

The Treaty of Versailles dealt with Germany. It was a very long document, over 200 pages long, and contained more than 400 separate sections, or **clauses**. Here is a summary of the main ones.

1. A **League of Nations** was set up. The first twenty-six clauses described how it was to work and were called the **Covenant of the League of Nations**.
2. Germany had to give land away to neighbouring countries. The map opposite shows you that Germany lost land to five of her neighbours and that the country was split into two. Three areas, Danzig, the Saar and Memel, were to be governed by the League of Nations for the time being: later the people of those areas would be allowed to vote on whether they wanted to be part of Germany or not. The coalmines in the Saar Valley were given to France.
3. All Germany's overseas colonies were taken away and put under the rule of the League of Nations.
4. All the land which Germany had taken from Russia in 1918 was now taken back. Some of it was returned to Russia, and some was used to create new nations – Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland.
5. Germany's armed forces were reduced to the bare minimum – an army of 100,000 men and a navy with no more than six battleships. No submarines and no air force were allowed.
6. The western part of Germany was made into a **demilitarised zone (DMZ)**. This meant that no German soldiers or weapons were allowed there. As you can see from the map, the DMZ included all land west of the River Rhine and an area 50 kilometres wide on the east bank. In addition, the Allies were to keep an army of occupation on the west bank for fifteen years.
7. Germany was forbidden to unite with Austria to make a single German-speaking state.
8. Germany had to accept the blame for starting the Great War. Clause 231 which stated this was known as the **war guilt clause**.
9. Because she was guilty of starting the war, Germany had to pay **reparations** – the cost of repairing war damage – to the Allies, mainly to France. The exact amount would be decided by a special committee.

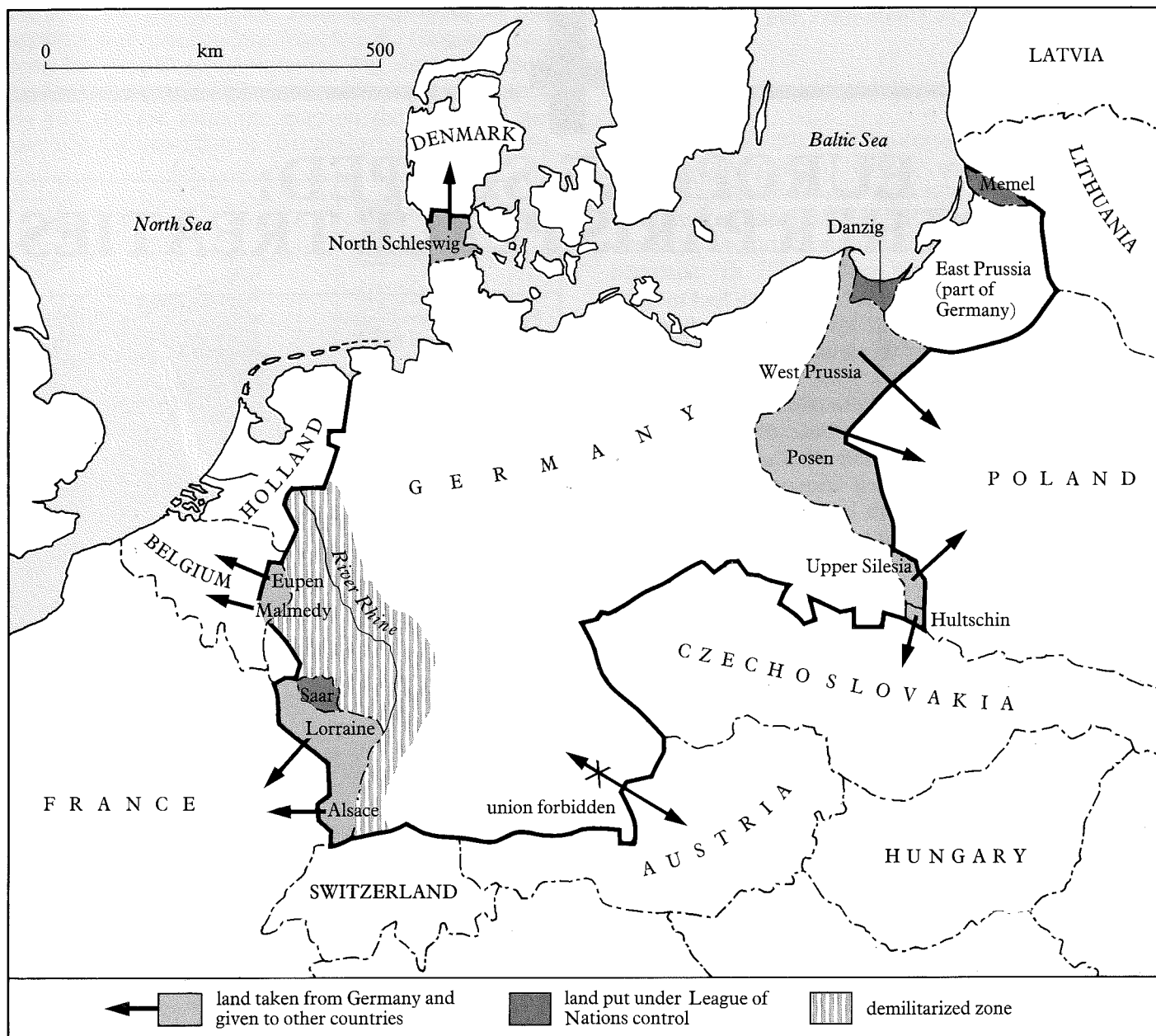


The signing of the Treaty of Versailles in the Hall of Mirrors

The Germans had not been consulted about any of this. When they were told the terms of the treaty, just weeks before they were due to sign it, there was uproar in Germany. The treaty was far harsher than they had expected. The government resigned. Captains of the German fleet, which was being kept by the British in Scapa Flow, sank their ships in protest. Germans everywhere complained bitterly that the treaty was a 'Diktat' – a dictated peace.

There was nothing they could do about it, however. The Allies threatened to invade if they would not sign. So when all the politicians were assembled in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, Clemenceau gave the order: 'Bring in the Germans'. Two pale-faced and trembling members of a new German government were led into the hall and told to sign their names on the last page of the treaty. Then the Allied politicians lined up and took their turns to sign.

When the signing was over, the 'Big Three' went outside into the gardens where waiting crowds cheered them wildly. Clemenceau, with tears in his eyes, said 'It's a beautiful day'.



The Treaty of Versailles

Work section

A. Study the map above, then answer these questions.

1. a) Name all the areas of land taken from Germany.
b) What was the effect on Germany of giving West Prussia to Poland?
c) Why do you think the politicians who made the Treaty of Versailles did this?
2. Why do you think the western part of Germany was made into a demilitarised zone?
3. Suggest why the Treaty of Versailles forbade Germany to unite with Austria to become a single, German-speaking country.

B. Read the summary of the Treaty of Versailles on the opposite page, then study the aims of Clemenceau and Wilson on pages 4 – 5. Now answer these questions:

1. a) Which parts of the Treaty seem to have been influenced by Wilson's Fourteen Points?
b) Which parts of the Treaty seem to have been influenced by Clemenceau's ideas? Explain your answers.
2. Which parts of the Treaty do you think the Germans hated most? Explain your answer.

C. Look at the photograph opposite. Over 800 politicians, generals and officials were in the Hall of Mirrors to watch the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. Why do you think so many people were invited to the ceremony?

EUROPE RE-SHAPED: THE OTHER PARIS PEACE TREATIES

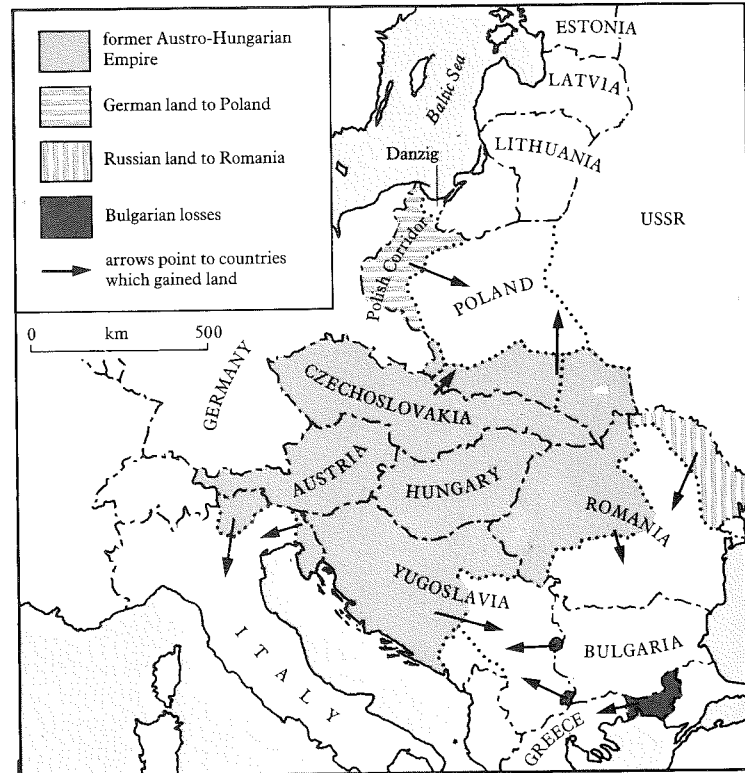
The treaty-makers at the Paris Conference had to deal not only with Germany but also with her defeated partners – the Empire of Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and the Turkish Empire.

Here they faced a difficult task, for one of the three no longer existed! In the last year of the war the peoples of Austria-Hungary had rebelled against their Emperor, trying to gain their independence. Three had already set up their own independent states and appointed their own leaders – the Czechs, the Hungarians and the Serbs. Before the peace conference in Paris had even begun, they were putting into practice Woodrow Wilson's idea of self-determination. All the conference could do was agree to this new situation and suggest minor changes.

Austria-Hungary

Austria-Hungary was dealt with by two treaties signed at **Saint Germain** and **Trianon**, two royal palaces near

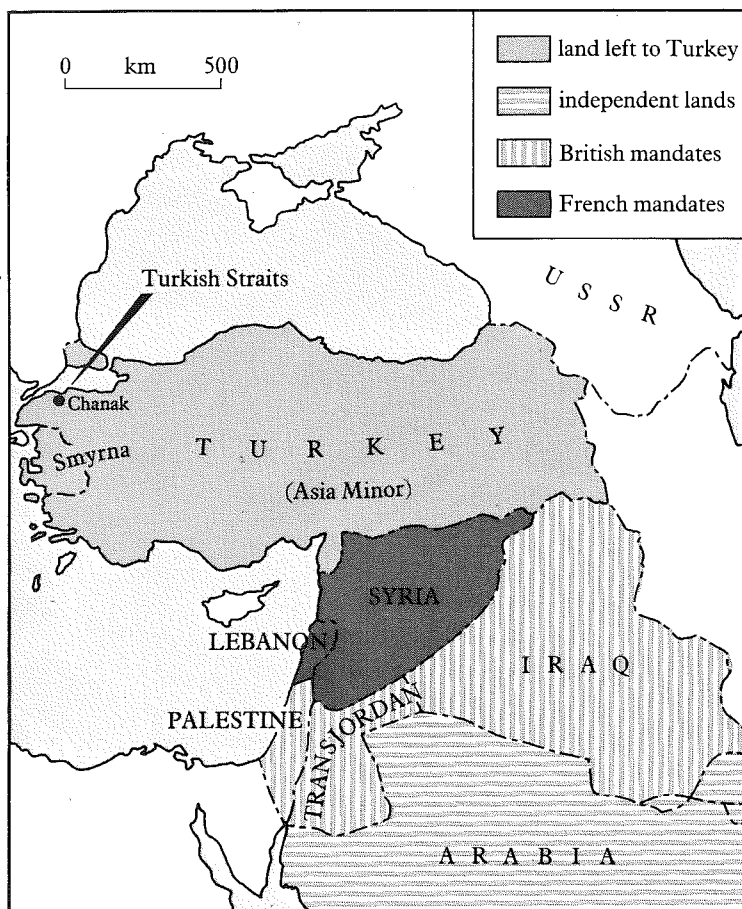
Below: The Czech people of Austria-Hungary take matters into their own hands. Armed rebels escort their leader Tomas Masaryk (sitting in the back of the car) into Prague, December 1918, to become President of Czechoslovakia



Above: How Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria were treated



Paris. These treaties made Austria and Hungary into separate and independent states. Like Germany they both had to pay reparations for war damage, reduce their armaments and give up land to their neighbours. As you can see from the map on the left, land was given to the new state of Czechoslovakia in the north.



How the Treaty of Sèvres broke up the Turkish Empire

In the south, Serbia took over huge areas of land to become the new state of Yugoslavia. Other Austrian lands were given to Italy and to Poland. A large part of Hungary was handed over to Romania.

Bulgaria

Bulgaria was dealt with in much the same way. The Treaty of Neuilly gave away land to her neighbours

and made her pay reparations as well as reduce her armed forces.

Russia

These treaties dealt with the defeated powers, but they also had important effects on other countries. Although the Russians did not attend the Peace Conference, the treaties did much to change their country. As you know, the Germans forced Russia to surrender in 1917. They promptly took away vast amounts of land in western Russia. The Treaty of Versailles gave much of this conquered land back to Russia, but not all of it. Her provinces on the Baltic Sea – Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania – all became independent states. The peacemakers gave part of southern Russia to Romania. And, as we shall see later, Russia's Polish provinces were not returned.

Poland

Before 1919 there was no such country as Poland, for the Poles had been conquered by their neighbours over a hundred years earlier. Now they gained their independence by taking land from their conquerors – Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia. The land taken from Germany was particularly important; the 'Polish Corridor' gave her free access to the ports on the Baltic Sea.

The Turkish Empire

The fifth and last of the Paris Peace Treaties dealt with the Turkish Empire. The Treaty of Sèvres was very harsh. It took away nearly all Turkey's land in Europe and put the Turkish Straits under League of Nations control (see map). Her Arab lands in the Middle East were made into mandates, lands which were controlled by the French and British until the peoples of those lands were ready to rule themselves. The League of Nations was to make sure that France and Britain governed these mandates properly. The only part of the Empire to be given independence straight away was Arabia. Finally, armies from Britain, France, Italy and Greece were to occupy what remained of Turkey – the barren and mountainous area known as Asia Minor.

Work section

- A. Study the map on page 8 carefully and then do the following exercise.
 1. Name five new countries created in Central Europe by the Paris Peace Treaties.
 2. a) Name three already existing countries which were made larger by the Peace Treaties.
b) Which one seems to have gained the most land?
 3. a) Name five countries which were made smaller by the Peace Treaties.
b) Which of them lost most?
- B. Study the map on this page and answer the following questions.
 1. Why do you think the Treaty of Sèvres put the Turkish Straits under League of Nations control?
 2. a) Name the parts of the Turkish Empire which were put under British control and those which were put under French control
b) Suggest why this was done instead of giving them independence.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

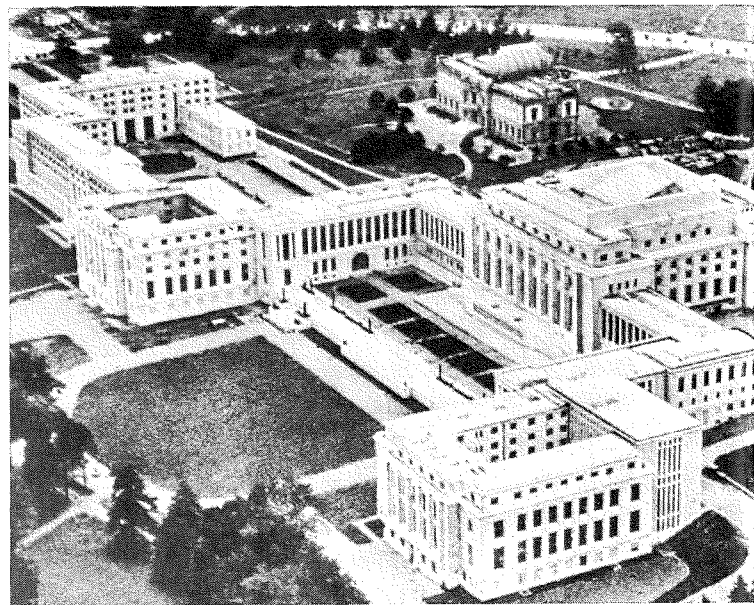
All five of the Paris Peace Treaties began in the same way, by describing a new organisation for keeping peace in the world – the League of Nations.

As you know, this was Woodrow Wilson's pet idea. He wanted a peace that would last, and thought that wars could only be avoided if there was a body specially designed for settling quarrels between countries.

The organisation of the League of Nations

The **Covenant of the League of Nations**, as the first part of each peace treaty was called, described how peace was to be kept:

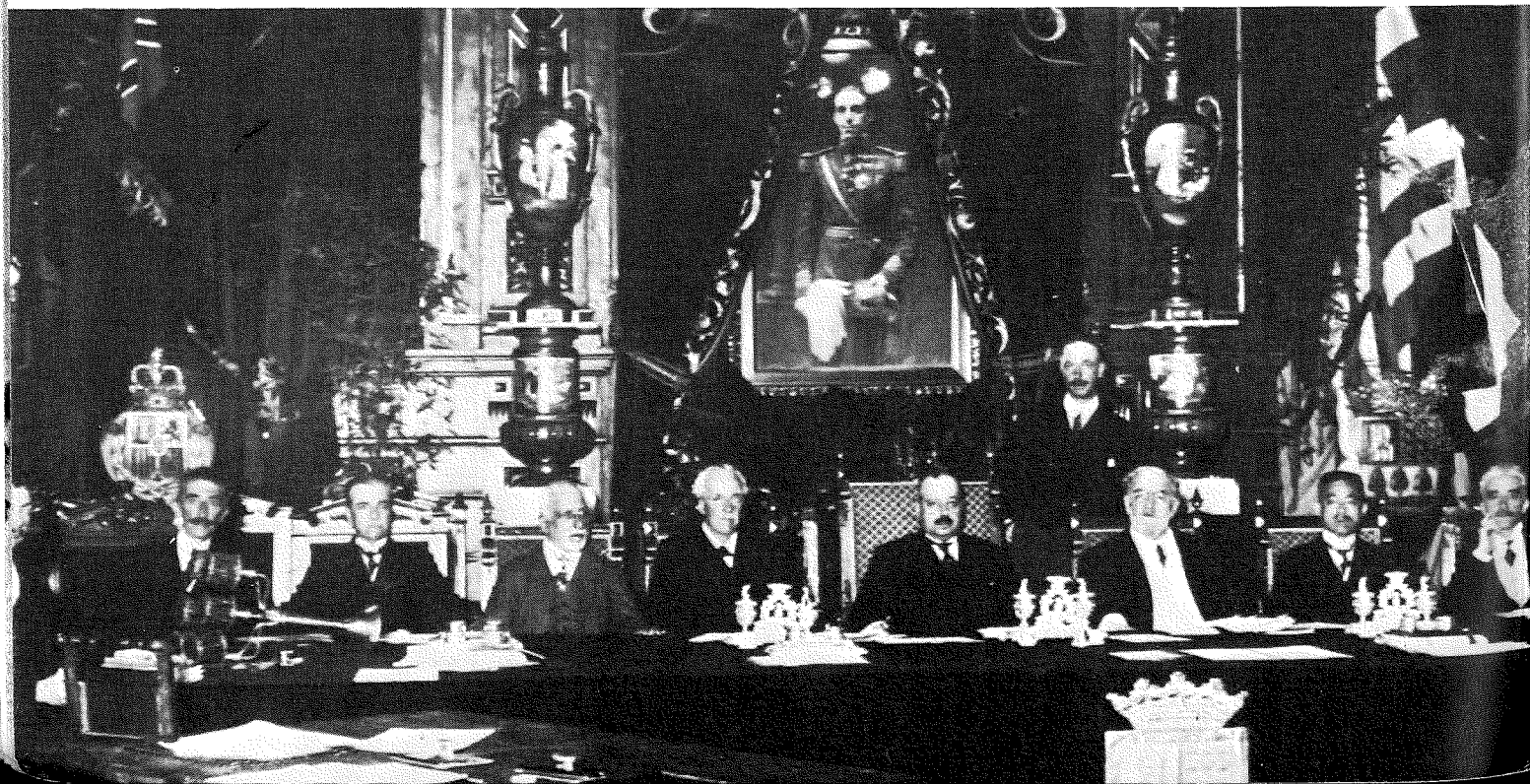
1. If any member of the League quarrelled with another member, they would talk about their differences instead of going to war. The talks would take place in the League's **Assembly** in Geneva, a sort of world parliament which met once a year and in which each member country had one vote.
2. If this did not work, and a member was attacked, all other members would go to its help. This was known as **collective security**. Help would be arranged by the **Council** of the League, a smaller body which could meet quickly in a crisis. They would help the victim by cutting off all links with the attacker, especially trade and financial links.



The Palace of the League of Nations in Geneva. This specially designed building became the League's permanent headquarters in 1937, just two years before a second world war began

Much of the work of the League was done by **commissions**. The **Disarmament Commission** worked to persuade member countries to reduce the size of their armed forces and to cut down their stocks of weapons. The **Mandates Commission** kept an eye

The first meeting of the Council of the League of Nations, August 1920



on the German and Turkish colonies, which were put under the temporary rule of Britain and France by the Peace Treaties.

The League also had the task of making the world a better one. Special committees were set up to look into the big problems of the world and to suggest cures. There was the **Health Organisation** for improving the world's health – for example by trying to wipe out leprosy. The **International Labour Organisation** aimed to improve the conditions in which people worked. Other special committees had the job of improving women's rights, of stopping drug smuggling, and of helping refugees. There was also a world law court, the **Permanent Court of Justice**, based in Holland, to try legal disputes between countries.

With so much work to do, the League needed a large number of organisers to handle paperwork, communications and publicity. This was done by the **Secretariat** in Geneva. The first chairman of this body of civil servants was an Englishman, Sir Eric Drummond.

Problems for the League of Nations

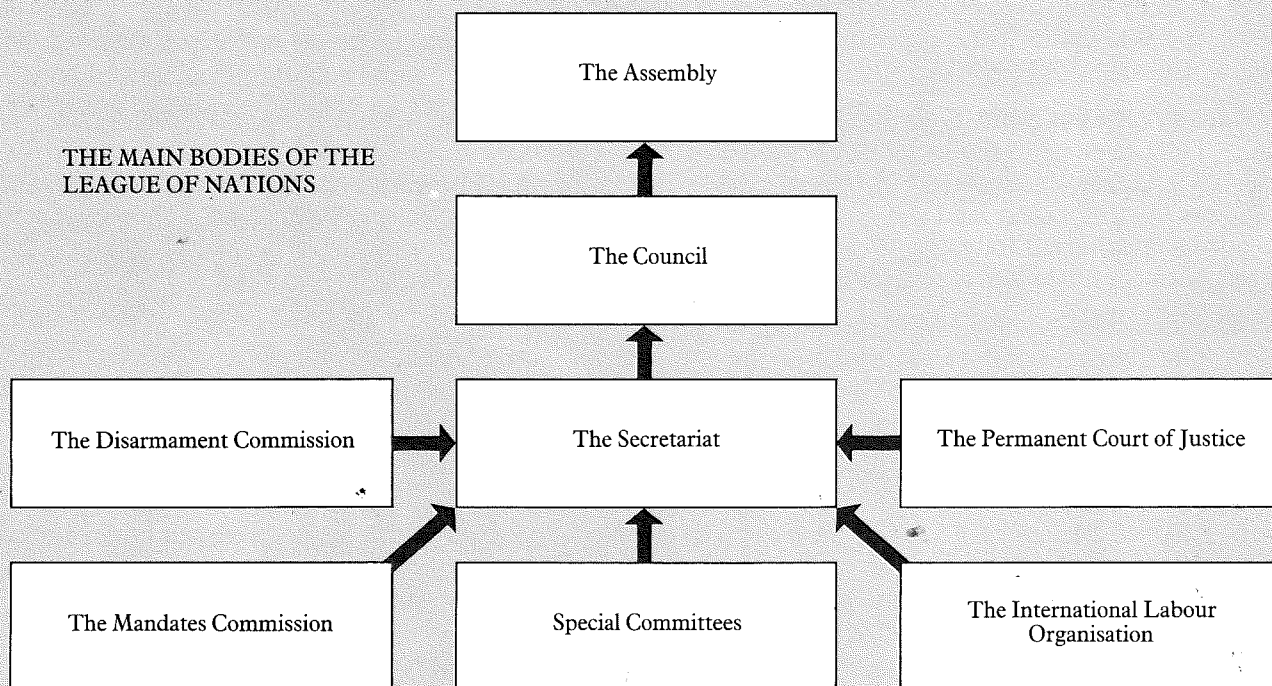
The League of Nations looked most impressive on paper but, right from the start of its life, it was actually rather weak. There were two big problems. First, the USA refused to join, even though it was an American President who thought it up in the first place. The Americans were just not interested in getting involved with the problems of other countries. Communist Russia and defeated Germany did not join either, because they were not allowed to do so. So three great countries of the world were absent from the League of Nations at its birth.

A second problem was that the League did not have an army to back up its decisions. It could talk about quarrels between countries, it could cut off trade with attackers, but it did not have the force to make countries stop fighting.

Despite these problems, many people were very enthusiastic about the League in its early days and, as we shall see, it was able to do a lot of useful work in the 1920s.

Work section

- A. Make a diagram like the one below, showing the main bodies of the League of Nations. Fill the empty boxes with as much information as you can about each body. All the information you need is in this chapter.



- B. 1. Why was it a weakness of the League of Nations that the USA, Russia and Germany were not founder members?
2. Why do you think Russia and Germany were not allowed to join the League?
- C. Study the photograph opposite of the Council of the League. Imagine that you are the Chairman and that you are explaining to journalists what the job of the Council is. Write a short speech describing the actions that the Council will take if war breaks out between two countries which belong to the League.
- D. Before going any further, make notes on what you have read so far about the Paris Peace Treaties. There is a revision guide on the next page to help you. Use maps to illustrate your notes.

Revision guide: the Paris Peace Treaties

A. The Paris Peace Conference

1. Thirty-two countries sent representatives to Paris in January 1919 to make peace treaties with the defeated Central Powers.
2. The Peace Conference was dominated by the '**Big Three**' (Clemenceau of France, Lloyd George of Britain and Wilson of the USA). Each had different aims:
 - a) **Clemenceau** aimed to weaken Germany so much that France could never be invaded again.
 - b) **Wilson** aimed for a fair and lasting peace. In his **Fourteen Points** he said that countries must reduce their armaments, people under foreign rule must be given the right of self-determination, and a **League of Nations** must be set up to keep the peace.
 - c) **Lloyd George** agreed with most of Wilson's Fourteen Points but was under pressure from the British public to be harsh on Germany.
3. The Peace Treaties which the Conference made were therefore a mixture of these different aims and ideas.

B. The Paris Peace Treaties

Five treaties were signed in palaces close to Paris.

1. **The Treaty of Versailles** (1919) dealt with Germany.
 - a) A League of Nations was set up.
 - b) Land was taken away from Germany: Alsace and Lorraine were given to France, Eupen and Malmedy to Belgium, North Schleswig to Denmark, West Prussia, Posen and Upper Silesia to Poland, Hultschin to Czechoslovakia. Danzig, the Saar and Memel were to be ruled by the League of Nations. All Russian land conquered in 1918 was taken away. All Germany's colonies were put under League of Nations control.
 - c) Germany's army was reduced to 100,000 men. The navy was allowed no more than six battleships. No submarines and no air force were allowed.
 - d) The Rhineland was demilitarised and occupied by Allied armies.
 - e) Union with Austria was forbidden.
 - f) The War Guilt Clause blamed Germany for starting the war and so Germany had to pay **reparations** to the Allies.
2. **The Treaties of Saint-Germain and Trianon** (1919 and 1920) dealt with Austria and Hungary.
 - a) The Covenant of the League of Nations.
 - b) The Austro-Hungarian Empire ceased to exist. Austria and Hungary became separate and independent states. Much of their land was given to the new nations of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia, as well as to Romania and Italy.
 - c) Both countries had to reduce their armaments and pay reparations.
3. **The Treaty of Neuilly** (1919) dealt with Bulgaria.
 - a) The Covenant of the League of Nations.
 - b) Bulgarian land was given to Greece and Yugoslavia.
 - c) Bulgaria had to reduce armaments and pay reparations.
4. **The Treaty of Sèvres** (1920) dealt with the Turkish Empire.
 - a) The Covenant of the League of Nations
 - b) Most of Turkey's land in Europe was given to Greece and the Turkish Straits were put under League of Nations control.
 - c) Turkey's Arab lands became **mandates** of the League of Nations and were put under French and British rule.
 - d) Allied armies were to occupy what was left of Turkey – Asia minor.

C. The League of Nations

1. The Peace Conference set up a League of Nations. Its **Covenant** (rules) was included in all five peace treaties.
2. The job of the League was to preserve the peace by using **collective security** to deal with countries that attacked others. This would be organised by the **Assembly** in Geneva or, in an emergency, by the **Council** of the League.
3. The League also aimed to improve the world through specialised agencies, e.g. the International Labour Organisation, the Health Organisation, etc.

PART TWO

A GOOD PEACE?



French soldiers invade Germany in 1923, only four years after making peace with her.

‘Are we making a good peace? Are we? Are we?’

Harold Nicolson, a British official at the Paris Peace Conference, was right to scribble this question in his diary. The peace treaties of 1919–20 did bring an end to the Great War but they did not stop war altogether. During the next five years, many ‘little’ wars broke out between countries which were unhappy with the

treaties. Mostly they were in central and eastern Europe where the old Empires had broken up into new nation states.

Were the treaty-makers at Paris to blame for this? The answer to that and to Harold Nicolson’s question is for you to decide after reading about some of these ‘little’ wars.

6

WAR IN POLAND, WARS IN RUSSIA

Poland and Russia at war

As you will remember, the independent state of Poland was created out of land taken from Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia. The Poles were not satisfied with the shape of their country, however. Most of all they disliked the border with Russia which was drawn onto the new map of Europe by a British politician, Lord Curzon.

The 'Curzon Line' (see map opposite) was nearly 1000 kilometres long, and ran through great wastelands of forest and marsh where very few people lived. Poles thought this was a meaningless frontier

and wanted the land on the other side of the Curzon Line which was known as White Russia. Naturally enough, the Russians did not want to give it up.

Fighting broke out between Russia and Poland even before the Treaty of Versailles was signed. It was only small-scale fighting at first, and neither side was properly equipped for a war. Some of the Polish troops wore French tunics, German helmets, and carried British rifles, while some Russian soldiers went into battle wearing captured bowler hats!

It did not take long for the fighting to turn into a full-scale war. Early in 1920 the Polish army crossed the Curzon Line and captured most of White Russia

Russian soldiers in the war with Poland, 1920



and the Ukraine. Their victory was short-lived, for the Russians quickly counter-attacked. Led by the brilliant twenty-seven-year-old Marshal Tuchachevsky, they chased the Poles out of Russia, right back to their capital city Warsaw.

Luckily for the Poles, they too had a brilliant general – Marshal Pilsudski. In a daring and

dangerous attack the Polish army wiped out Tuchachevsky's Russian army in the **battle of the Vistula**. A hundred thousand Russians were killed or taken prisoner.

The Russians now had no choice but to make peace with the Poles. In 1921 they signed the **Treaty of Riga**, giving the Poles virtually all the land they wanted – 80,000 square kilometres of Western Russia. By ignoring the Treaty of Versailles and fighting a war instead, Poland had managed to double its size.

Foreign intervention in Russia

It wasn't only the Poles who ignored the Treaty of Versailles in their dealings with Russia. The 'Big Three' themselves were busy making war on Russia even while they were in Paris in 1919, talking about peace and 'an end to all war'.

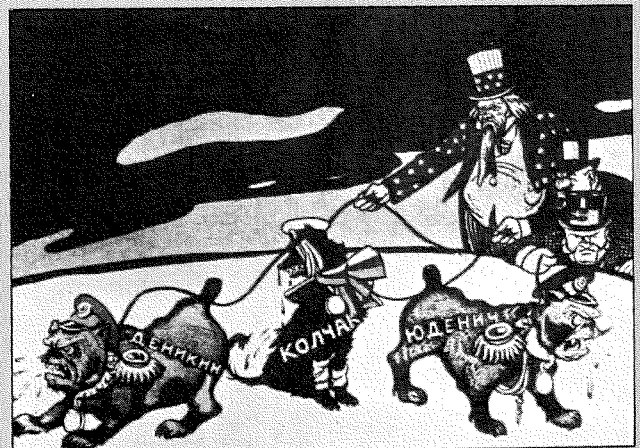
The British and the French strongly disliked the new government of Russia because it was communist. They feared that communism would spread into Europe if they did nothing to stop it. So, as Britain's war minister, Winston Churchill, put it, they set out to 'strangle the Soviet Regime [communist government] at birth'. France, Britain, the United States, Italy and Japan all sent armies into Russia. The British navy sent torpedo boats into the great Russian naval base at Kronstadt and sank two Russian battleships. Millions of pounds were given to Russian opponents of the Communists to help them fight a civil war.

This foreign 'intervention', or interference, in the affairs of Russia failed to strangle the 'Soviet Regime' at birth, and the five countries brought back their armies at the end of 1919. All they had achieved was to make the Communists doubt the honesty of the Allies and to fill them with bitter hostility.



Work section

- A.
 - How can you tell from the photograph on the opposite page that the Russian army was not properly equipped to fight the Poles in 1920?
 - Suggest reasons why neither side was properly equipped to fight a war at this time.
- B. Why do you think the Polish government decided to change Poland's Russian frontier by force instead of asking the League of Nations to settle the matter? Look back to Chapter 5 when thinking about this.
- C. Study this Russian cartoon of 1919, below, and answer the following questions:
 - Five countries gave help to Russian enemies of the Communist government of Russia. Which countries do you think are represented by the three men in the background?
 - The three dogs are named Deniken, Kolchak and Yudenitch – leading opponents of the Communists in Russia. What help were they given by the three countries in the background?
 - In what other ways did the three countries intervene in the affairs of Russia at this time?
 - What impression of the three countries do you think the cartoonist was trying to put across? Do you think the cartoonist was being fair? Explain your answer.



CRISIS IN ITALY

Like the Poles, the Italians disliked the Treaty of Versailles because it gave them less land than they wanted. Italy joined the Great War in 1915 because the Allies promised to give her land. This promise was made in the secret **Treaty of London**, and you can see exactly what was promised on the map below.

When the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were announced, the Italians were furious. They were given only two of the promised territories – Tyrol and Istria. The rest went to Yugoslavia. What annoyed them most was that they were not given the town of **Fiume**.

D'Annunzio and Fiume

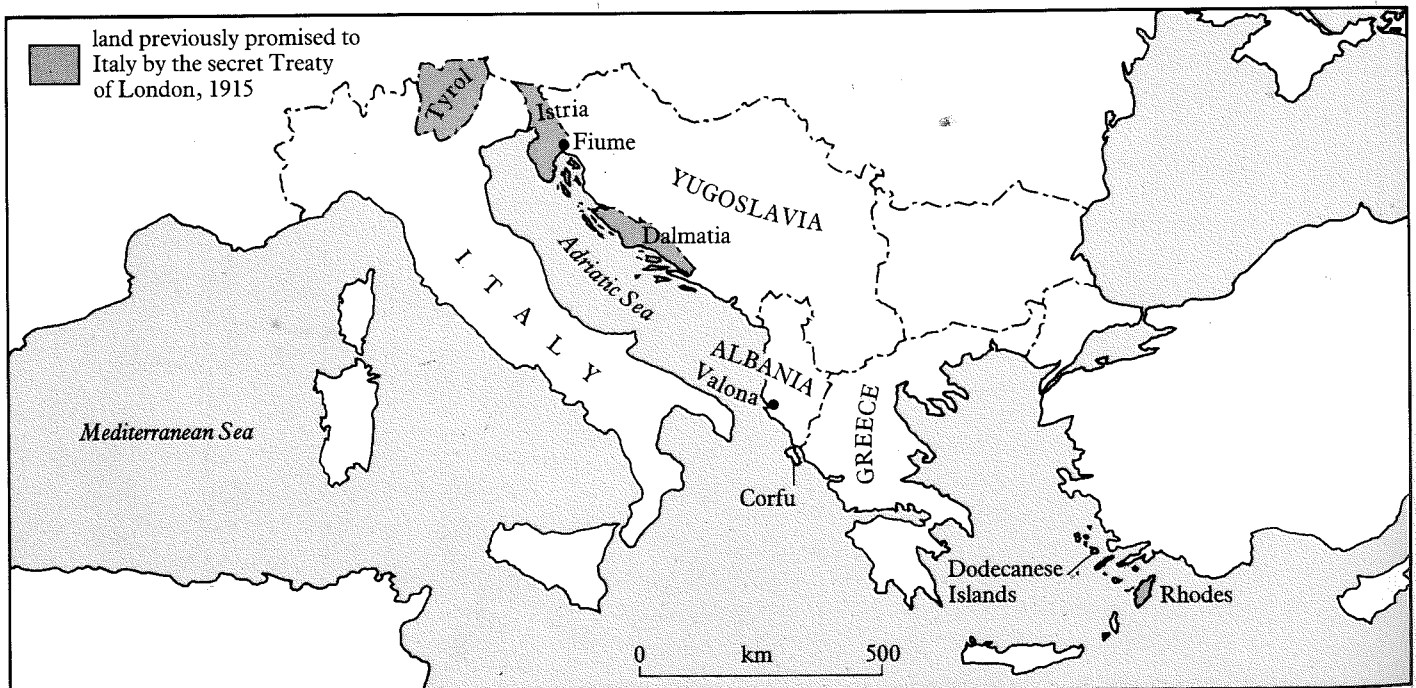
As you can see from the map, Fiume was a port on the Adriatic Sea. Until 1918 it had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Most of the 45,000 people who lived there were Italian, so when Austria-Hungary was broken up in 1919 they assumed the treaty-makers would hand the port over to Italy. (Remember Woodrow Wilson's idea of national self-determination?) When they heard that Fiume was being given to Yugoslavia, a group of Italian nationalists took matters into their own hands.

Their leader was a famous war hero and poet called **Gabriele d'Annunzio**. During the war he had made daring torpedo-boat raids on Austrian ships and had lost one eye in a bombing raid over Austria. In September 1919, only weeks after the Treaty of Versailles was signed, he gathered 1000 armed men, mostly ex-soldiers like himself, and marched them



Above: *Gabriele d'Annunzio, ruler of Fiume from September 1919 to January 1921*

Below: *Italy and her neighbours after the peace treaties*



into the town of Fiume. The small army defending it surrendered without resistance.

For the next fifteen months, d'Annunzio ruled Fiume as an independent state. Life there was exciting. Young people came from all over Italy to join in the fun. Every day there were military parades, firework displays, concerts, medal presentations. Money to run the tiny state was got by hijacking passing ships and by raiding towns across the border.

Most Italians supported what d'Annunzio was doing but the Italian government was unhappy with the situation. D'Annunzio had taken the law into his own hands and defied the Versailles Treaty. So on Christmas Eve 1920, the Italian navy started bombarding Fiume with shell-fire. Fierce fighting broke out – Italians fighting Italians – and went on for the next three weeks. But d'Annunzio and his men were outnumbered and eventually were forced to surrender. The town was promptly handed over to Yugoslavia.

Challenges to the Treaty of Versailles

Italians used armed force again in 1923 in a dispute over borders, but this time it was the government that used force first.

The border between Albania and Greece (see map) had not been properly drawn at the Paris Peace Conference, partly because the land there is remote and mountainous and accurate maps did not exist. A special committee called the **Conference of Ambassadors** was set up to decide on this and various other new borders.

In 1923 the conference of Ambassadors sent a survey team into the area to make maps and report back. Five members of the team were Italian soldiers, the others were Greeks and Albanians. They set off from Greece in three cars and made their way towards the wild mountains.

The Italians, travelling in one car, got separated from the others. As they wound their way up a lonely



The d'Annunzio legend: war hero, poet and dictator

mountain road they found a fallen tree blocking their path. As they got out of the car to shift the tree they were shot dead by hidden gunmen.

Benito Mussolini, the new Prime Minister of Italy, immediately accused the Greek government of organising this ambush and demanded a large fine. When the Greeks refused to pay up, Mussolini sent the Italian navy to bombard the Greek island of Corfu.

As high-explosive shells landed on the island, the Greeks asked the League of Nations to deal with the crisis. Mussolini refused to accept the League's decisions: he said it was the job of the Conference of Ambassadors to handle the matter. He then bullied the Ambassadors into accepting his point of view and they ordered Greece to pay a fine of 50 million lire. Again, the use of force had triumphed.

Now Mussolini invited the Yugoslav government to discuss the future of Fiume. The Yugoslavs, seeing what had just happened to Greece, handed Fiume over to the Italians with very little argument. The Treaty of Versailles had been changed yet again – this time by the mere threat of violence.

Work section

- A.
 1. Study the map on the opposite page and list all the areas that Italy was promised by the secret Treaty of London.
 2. Which of these areas was she actually given?
 3. Why do you think Italians felt they deserved more than this? (Look back at Chapter 1 when thinking about this.)
- B. Remind yourself what 'national self-determination' means (see page 5). According to the idea of self-determination, which country should have received Fiume? Explain your answer.
- C. Why do you think the treaty-makers decided not to give Italy all the land she had been promised? (Hint: imagine what Italy would have looked like if she had been given this land, and think about the importance of the Adriatic Sea to the countries on its coast.)
- D.
 1. Judging by what you have read in this chapter, do you think that Benito Mussolini was right to use armed force against the Greeks in 1923? Explain your answer.
 2. Why do you think he acted in this way?

HATRED IN TURKEY

Look back to page 9 and remind yourself that the Treaty of Sèvres was very harsh. Turkey was more than halved in size and left only with Asia Minor, a wild and barren land. To add insult to injury, foreign armies now occupied the country.

The Battle of the Sakarya

Turkish nationalists hated the Treaty and they hated their Sultan, or ruler, for signing it. They had already formed a breakaway government with **Mustapha Kemal**, one of Turkey's best generals, at its head. Now, after the Treaty had been signed, they went to war with the Sultan and overthrew him in a great battle at **Inönü** (January 1921). Mustapha Kemal took over as Turkey's new ruler.

Kemal and the nationalists now made plans for destroying the Treaty of Sèvres, but this was difficult with foreign armies occupying Turkey. The most dangerous of these was a large Greek army based in **Smyrna** (look back to the map on page 9). Many hundreds of years before, Turkey had been part of the ancient Greek Empire, and there were still over a million Greeks living in and around Smyrna. Now the Greek government was planning to conquer Turkey once again and to re-create the Greek Empire.

Early in 1921 the Greek army set out from Smyrna into Asia Minor. Its orders were to smash Kemal's new government and his army. The two armies met on the River Sakarya in the heart of the country. Kemal told his men before going into battle that they must not give up a single inch of land until it was wet with Turkish blood.

The **Battle of the Sakarya** lasted for three weeks and many thousands on both sides were killed. Finally the Greeks were forced to retreat. Not a single Greek soldier was left alive on the far side of the river.

The survivors retreated in panic, killing and looting and burning as they headed back to Smyrna. Meanwhile, vicious fighting broke out in the streets of the city between Greek and Turkish civilians. While they fought and rioted, injured and exhausted soldiers poured into the city, the Turks close behind them. Hundreds of thousands of terrified Greeks frantically tried to escape by sea. Overloaded boats capsized and sank in the crowded harbour. The water became choked with floating corpses.

At the height of the panic a fire broke out, probably started by Greeks out of hatred. Over half the city burned to the ground and thousands died in the flames. Hundreds more died in brutal acts of street violence.



Smyrna burns as the Greeks flee from Turkey, September 1922

The Treaty of Lausanne

At terrible cost, Kemal and his army had driven the Greeks out of their country. Now they turned on the British who were based in the town of **Chanak**, guarding the Turkish Straits. It seemed that another massacre was about to take place. At the last moment, however, the British commander reached an agreement with Kemal; the Treaty of Sèvres would be scrapped and a fairer treaty worked out.

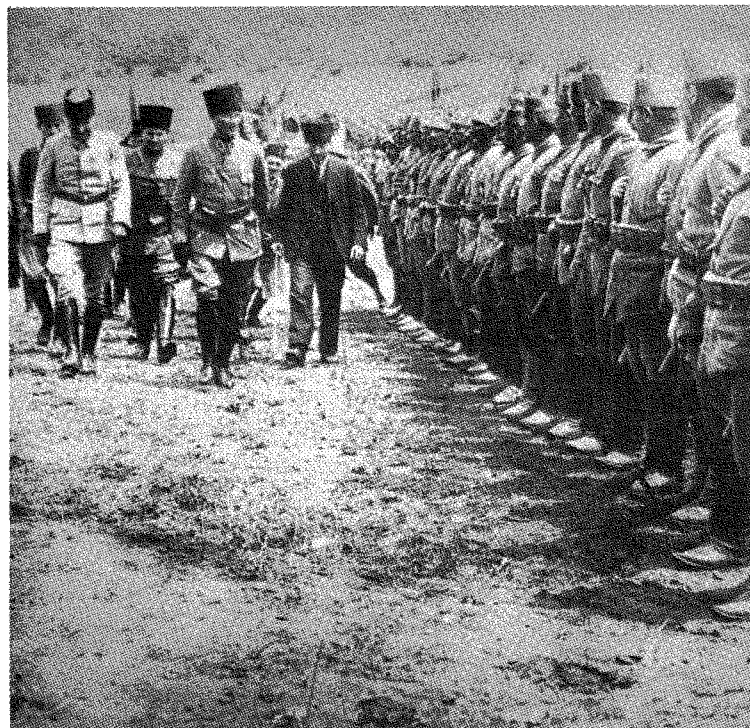
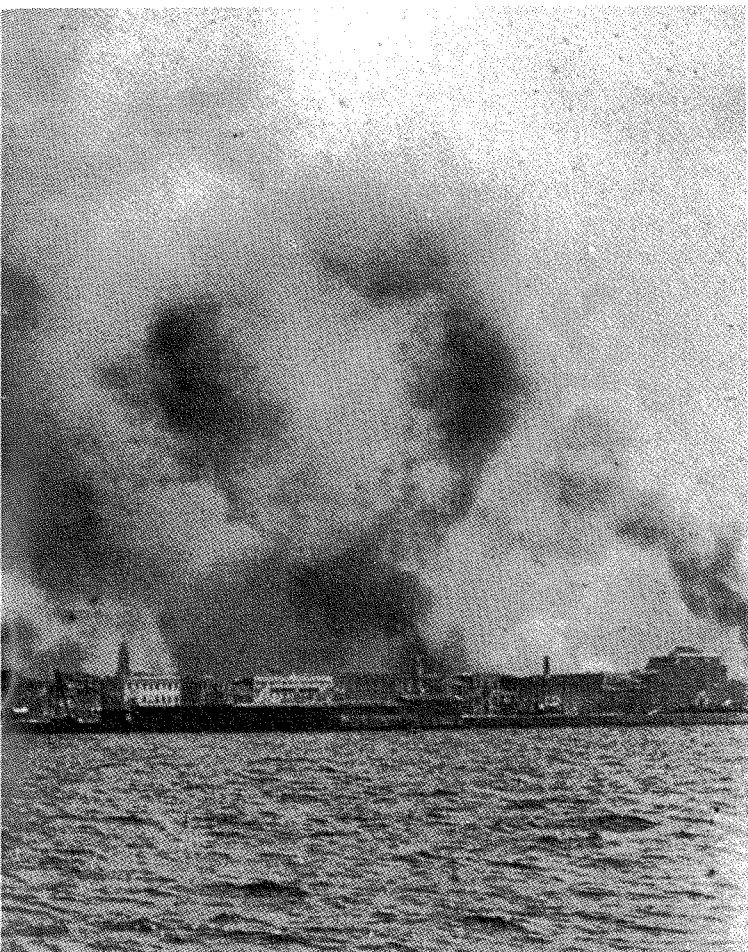
This was done in 1923, at Lausanne in Switzerland. The **Treaty of Lausanne** gave Turkey back most of her land in Europe and ordered all foreign troops to leave the country. The Turkish Straits were put back under Turkish control although all fortifications on the shores had to be destroyed. Finally, there were to be no restrictions on Turkey's armed forces and no reparations had to be paid. Again, the Paris Peace Settlement had been changed by war.

The League of Nations intervenes

The Treaty of Lausanne pleased the Turks but it did nothing to end the tragedy of Smyrna. Kemal's army had driven 1,400,000 Greeks civilians from their homes in Smyrna and now they were making their way to Greece, for there was nowhere else to go. Four out of five of these refugees were women or children. Most were half-starved and carrying infectious diseases such as cholera and typhoid. The flood of Greeks from

Smyrna was so great that by 1923 20 per cent of the Greek population were homeless refugees. All faced slow starvation, for the Greek government had no resources to help such large numbers.

Total disaster was avoided by the League of Nations. The League Council sent doctors of the Health Organisation to stop the spread of infectious diseases. Then it set up a committee to find homes for the refugees. The committee spent £10 million creating farms, villages, towns and workshops. It provided cattle, seed, water, machines. Within three years it found homes and work for 600,000 people. A League of Nations official later wrote: 'This is perhaps the greatest work of mercy which mankind has collectively ever undertaken.'



Mustapha Kemal inspects his troops during the war with Greece, 1922

Work section

- A. Study the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres on page 9. Do you think that Mustapha Kemal was justified in using armed force to destroy the Treaty? Explain your answer.
- B. In his book *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*, David Lloyd George wrote that the Treaty of Lausanne was a 'humiliation' for the Allies. Why do you think he held this opinion?
- C. Read this extract from a League of Nations report on Greek refugees, written in 1925:
- 'It is hard to believe that these decently dressed men and women, full of life and with something to spend on their amusements, are the same who landed on the shores of Greece three years ago, naked and starving and in many cases carrying in their arms dead children whom they did not know where to bury.'
1. Explain why many 'naked and starving' people had landed on the shores of Greece three years before this report was written.
 2. Why do you think that in many cases these people were carrying dead children with them?
 3. Explain how these people came to be 'decently dressed' and 'full of life' within three years of this happening.

REPARATION AND RUIN IN GERMANY

Reparations

The Treaty of Versailles stated that Germany was guilty of starting the Great War and must therefore pay for the damage she had caused. The exact amount of these reparations payments would be calculated by a special commission.

The **Reparations Commission** soon found itself at the centre of a furious argument. A famous British economist, **John Maynard Keynes**, argued that Germany did not have enough money to pay reparations. If she were made to pay, it would ruin her economy. He wrote: 'Those who sign this Treaty will sign the death sentence of millions of German men, women and children.'

Most people disagreed with Keynes, especially the French. They said that Germany had not been as badly damaged as France and Belgium, so if Germany did not pay for repairing the damage to them, they would remain weak while Germany grew strong.

In 1921 the Reparations Commission announced how much Germany was to pay – £6,600,000,000 in forty-two yearly instalments. The French were disappointed, for it was only half what they wanted. The Germans were horrified and claimed they could not possibly pay such a huge sum.

In fact, the Germans did manage to pay a small first instalment in 1922, but at the same time they asked for a delay of two years before being made to pay the second one. The British were ready to consider this request but the French were not. She wanted to be sure that Germany could never attack her again, and crippling Germany with massive reparations was the best way of doing it.

So when the Germans failed to make their next payment in 1923, the French decided to take it for themselves – by force. Helped by the Belgian army, they invaded the Ruhr Valley to take coal, iron and steel in payment for the year.

Invasion of the Ruhr Valley

The Ruhr Valley was then the richest part of Germany. One-tenth of the German population lived there and they produced four-fifths of all the country's coal, iron and steel, as well as many other goods. To have even part of this taken away would be a shattering blow to the country's well-being.

The Germans were outraged by the invasion and the government ordered the workers in the Ruhr not to take orders from the French and Belgian forces. It called this 'passive resistance' but, in effect, the government was ordering a general strike.



A French soldier stands guard on a coal train in the Ruhr Valley in 1923

The first result was a campaign of hatred against the French. Restaurants stuck up notices reading 'Dogs and Frenchmen forbidden'. Some people formed sabotage organisations which blew up the railway lines between France and the Ruhr, so that the French could not get the coal out of Germany.

The second and much more serious result was that German money lost its value. When workers in a factory or mine went on strike, the French either sacked them or expelled them from the Ruhr. Since the government had ordered the strike in the first place, it now had to provide for these people. As the government had no money, the only way it could help them was by printing large numbers of extra banknotes. This caused inflation (money losing its value). You can see how serious this was by comparing the value of German money with the British pound.

Jan 1914	£1 = 20 marks
Jan 1922	£1 = 760 marks
Nov 1922	£1 = 50,000 marks
Nov 1923	£1 = 16,000,000,000 marks

It is clear from these figures that the German mark



Laundry baskets full of banknotes arrive at a Berlin bank, July 1923. The baskets are worth more than the money inside them

was already losing its value before the French invaded the Ruhr. The effect of the invasion was to speed up the rate of inflation until money lost value every day. By November 1923 workers had to be paid twice a day: if they did not get to the shops quickly, their wages would not be enough to buy anything. By the end of the year, German money was absolutely worthless.

The German government had resisted the French but in doing so it had ruined the country. There was no alternative but to call off the strike.

As people went back to work in the Ruhr Valley, the German government agreed to give some coal to

the French as a short-term payment for reparations. Then it agreed with the Allies to pay the reparations instalments over a longer period of time, fifty-nine years. The USA also agreed to lend Germany large sums of money so that she could recover and build up her industries in order to make the payments. The agreement, known as the **Dawes Plan**, helped Germany to fulfil the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

So, just five years after the end of the Great War, the old hatred between France and Germany had flared up into violence and economic disaster. The Paris Peace Settlement was beginning to look very shaky.

Work section

- A. Study the photograph on page 13 and the pictures on these two pages. Then do a piece of writing (it could be an essay or a film script perhaps) explaining the situation behind each scene.
- B. Look back at Chapter 3 on the Treaty of Versailles. Can you find any evidence there to support the Germans' complaint that they could not afford to make reparations payments of £6,600,000,000? (Hint: think about where the wealth of a country comes from. Did Germany lose any of her sources of wealth?)
- C. Raymond Poincaré, the French Prime Minister, said this in 1923 before sending troops in to the Ruhr Valley:

‘We are going to look for coal, that’s all! We have no intention of strangling Germany or ruining her; we only want to obtain from her what we can reasonably expect her to provide.’

Judging by the information you have read in this chapter, do you agree or disagree with what Poincaré said? Explain your answer.
- D. In his book *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, written in 1919, John Maynard Keynes argued that Germany should pay reparations of £2,000 million. Judging by what you have read in this chapter, do you think it would have been better to make Germany pay this sum instead of the £6,600,000,000 decided by the Reparations Commission? Explain your answer.

10

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT WORK

'Article 11. Any war or threat of war . . . is a matter of concern to the whole League and the League shall take any action that may . . . safeguard the peace of nations.'
(From the Covenant of the League of Nations)

You have found out in this section that two major wars and several invasions took place within five years of the making of the Paris Peace Treaties. What did the League of Nations do to prevent such violence?

So far you may have formed the opinion that it did very little. In fact, many countries asked the League to settle their quarrels during the 1920s, and the League worked hard to do so. Appeals for help came from all over the world, but most came from the new nations of Europe when they quarrelled with each other over land. It is for you to judge the League's success in preventing their disputes from boiling over into war.

Study the map and the information boxes in this chapter, then do the following exercises in the work section.

The dispute over Upper Silesia, 1921

The Treaty of Versailles allowed the people of Upper Silesia to vote on whether they wanted to be part of Germany or Poland. Over 700,000 voted for Germany and 500,000 for Poland. There was rioting and violence after this close result. The League was asked to settle the matter. It sent experts to the area to decide what to do next. After a six-week inquiry, the League decided to split Upper Silesia between Poland and Germany. The League's decision was accepted by both countries.

The dispute over Teschen, 1919

Teschen was a small town on the border between Poland and Czechoslovakia. Both countries wanted it for its valuable coal-mines. Polish and Czech soldiers fought for a week in the streets of Teschen in January 1919. Many were killed. The dispute was finally settled by the Conference of Ambassadors (see page 17) which gave the town to Poland and one of its suburbs to Czechoslovakia. The Poles never accepted this decision because the suburb given to Czechoslovakia contained the richest coal-mines in the area. The two countries went on quarrelling about it for the next twenty years.

The dispute over Memel, 1923

Most people who lived in the port of Memel were Lithuanian, so the Lithuanian government wanted it. However, the Treaty of Versailles put the port and the land around it under league control, and for the next three years a French general acted as the governor of Memel. In 1923 the Lithuanians became impatient and invaded the area. The Conference of Ambassadors tried to settle the dispute but Lithuania would not accept its decisions. The League then intervened and gave the area to Lithuania but made the port into an 'international zone'. Lithuania agreed to this decision.

The dispute over the Ruhr Valley, 1923

See Chapter 9, pages 20 - 1.

The dispute over Fiume, 1919

See Chapter 7, page 16.

Work section

- A. 1. How many of the disputes between nations did the League of Nations solve?
2. How many were solved by the Conference of Ambassadors?
3. How many were not settled at all?
- B. Read these comments made by historians about the success of the League as a peace-keeping body:
 'The League's record as a peace keeping body was never very impressive.' (J. Watson)
 'Small issues it might be able to solve, but in any major crisis involving the great Powers, it was to find itself ignored.' (Anthony Wood)
 Which of these comments do you think is the more accurate? Give at least four reasons why you have chosen that comment.
- C. Why do you think that most of the disputes you have studied took place in central Europe?
- D. Choose one of the disputes that the League failed to settle. Suggest ways in which it could have done more to stop the dispute. Why do you think it did not use the methods you have suggested?

The dispute over the Aaland islands, 1921

These islands belonged to Finland but most of the islanders wanted to be ruled by Sweden. Finland and Sweden argued about it and, when they failed to reach an agreement, asked the League to decide which of them should own the islands. The League Council decided that Finland should have them as long as no weapons were kept there. Both sides accepted the decision which is still in force today.

The dispute over Vilna, 1920

In the middle ages, Vilna was the capital city of Lithuania. This small country was later swallowed up by Russia and ceased to exist as a nation. In 1919, Lithuania became independent again, and the people wanted Vilna as their capital. But only 2 per cent of the inhabitants were Lithuanian while 30 per cent were Polish. The Poles therefore also wanted Vilna and in 1920 a Polish general seized it. Lithuania asked the League for help but it could not persuade the Poles to leave. Vilna stayed in Polish hands for the next twenty years.

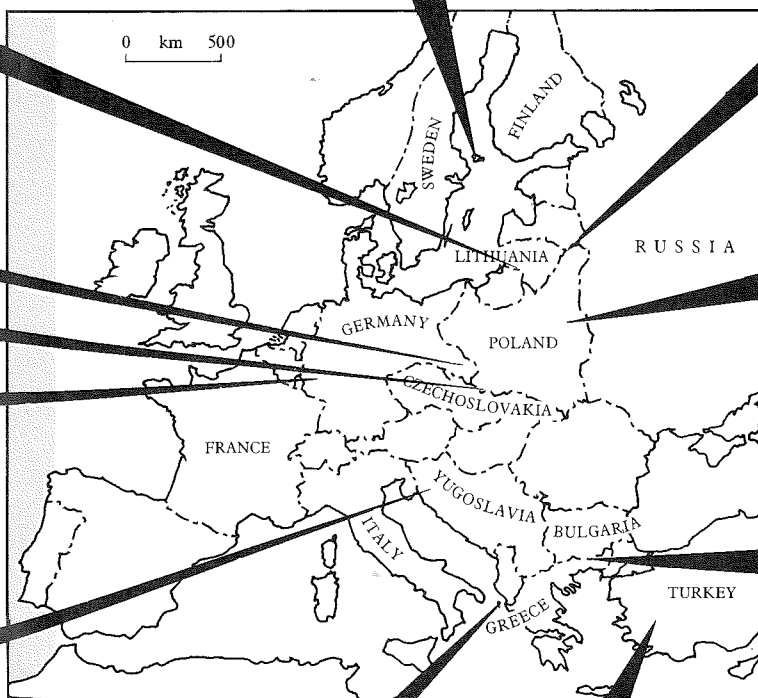
War between Poland and Russia, 1920 – 21
See Chapter 6, page 14.

War between Greece and Bulgaria, 1925
A quarrel started between Greek and Bulgarian sentries while they were patrolling the border between their two countries. Shooting began and one of the Greek sentries fell dead. The Greek army promptly invaded Bulgaria to get revenge. Bulgaria asked the League for help. The League Council ordered both armies to stop fighting, and Greece to pull back its army. It then sent experts to the area to find out who was to blame. They decided that Greece was at fault and imposed a fine of £45,000. Both countries accepted the decision.

The dispute over Corfu, 1923
See Chapter 7, page 17.

War between Greece and Turkey, 1920 – 22
See Chapter 8, pages 18 – 19.

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Revision guide: The 'Little Wars' of 1919 –1925

Use the information in Chapters 6 to 10 to make your own brief notes under the following headings.

- A. 1919 – the Teschen dispute (page 22)
- B. 1919 – the Fiume dispute (page 16)
- C. 1920 – the Vilna dispute (page 23)
- D. 1920–1 – the war between Russia and Poland (pages 14 –15)
- E. 1921 – the Upper Silesia dispute (page 22)
- F. 1921 – the Aaland Islands dispute (page 22)
- G. 1920–22 – the war between Greece and Turkey (pages 18 –19)
- H. 1923 – the Memel dispute (page 22)
- I. 1923 – the Corfu crisis (page 17)
- J. 1924 – the French occupation of the Ruhr Valley (pages 20 –21)
- K. 1925 – the war between Greece and Bulgaria (page 23)

Example:

A. 1919 – the Teschen dispute

Polish and Czech soldiers fought for control of the coal-mining town of Teschen on the border between them. The Conference of Ambassadors tried to settle the dispute by dividing Teschen between the two countries. But Poland was unhappy with its gains and the quarrel continued for another twenty years.

PART THREE

IMPROVING THE PEACE

PEACE AND FUTURE CANNON FODDER



The Tiger: "Curious! I seem to hear a child weeping!"

Even in 1919, some people thought that the peace treaties being signed in Paris would not last. One of them was the British cartoonist Will Dyson, who drew the cartoon above only days after the Treaty of Versailles was signed. He was suggesting that 'Tiger' Clemenceau and the other treaty-makers were laying trouble at the feet of the next generation – the '1940 class'.

Someone else who doubted that the peace treaties would last was the French Marshal Foch. He said in 1919 'This is not peace – it is an armistice for twenty years.'

Both were right. As Foch predicted, Germany attacked France again twenty years later in 1940. Will Dyson's '1940 class' in Britain found itself cowering from German bombs in air-raid shelters during the 'Blitz'. So if we criticise the treaty-makers for not making a lasting peace, we are not just speaking with the benefit of hindsight. Some people in 1919 were already making criticisms.

How then could the treaty-makers have made a better peace? The final part of this book puts you in their position and invites you to find out whether there was a better way of re-making the world in 1919.

11

IMPROVING THE PEACE – A SIMULATION GAME

This is a simulation game and it should be done in groups of three. In each group, one person represents Clemenceau, one is Lloyd George and the other is Wilson. (You could also work in groups of six, with one person acting as adviser to each of the 'Big Three'.)

The rules are simple. You have to work out peace treaties with the defeated Central Powers by choosing *one* decision from each set of possible decisions in the lists below. For a decision to be included in your treaty *all three leaders must agree to it*. As you make each decision, write it down and then mark it on a copy of the map opposite.

To help you make decisions about land, information about each area you discuss is given in the key to the map. For example, Alsace and Lorraine are marked by the figure 1 on the map, and this is described in the key as: 1. Mixed French and German population. Taken from France in 1871.

Before you start, remind yourself of the character you are playing and of what his aims were.

Woodrow Wilson's aims

1. No more secret agreements between countries.
2. Countries must reduce their armed forces and their stocks of weapons.
3. The different nationalities of Europe must have the right of self-determination.
4. There should be a league of Nations to keep peace in the world.

Clemenceau's aims

1. Germany must pay for the cost of the damage done to France in the war – 200,000,000,000 gold francs.
2. Germany must be made weak so that she could never attack France again. This means taking away land, goods and equipment from Germany, and reducing her armed forces.

Lloyd George's aims

Mostly the same as Woodrow Wilson's aims, but you are under pressure from the British public to 'Make Germany Pay'. This means you will have to insist that Germany pays reparations to the Allies for damage done in the war.

Decisions for a treaty with Germany

Land in Western Germany

- a) Make no change to Germany's borders.
- b) Give Alsace-Lorraine (1) to France.
- c) Give Alsace-Lorraine to France *and* make all German land west of the River Rhine into a buffer state to protect France. This new state to be called the Rhineland (2).
- d) Give *all* German land west of the River Rhine to France.
- e) Any one of the above, *and* compensate Belgium for war damage by giving her Eupen and Malmédy (3).
- f) Other ideas?

Land in North Germany

- a) Make no change to Germany's borders.
- b) Give North Schleswig (4) to Denmark.
- c) Give South Schleswig (5) to Denmark along with North Schleswig (4).
- d) Other ideas?

Land in North-East Germany

- a) Make no change to Germany's borders.
 - b) Give West Prussia (6) to the Polish people so that their new nation has a 'corridor' to the sea.
 - c) Give Posen (7) to the Polish people as part of their new nation.
 - d) Give West Prussia and Posen to the Poles.
 - e) Same as (b) or (d) but leave the port of Danzig and surrounding area (8) under German control.
 - f) Same as (b) or (d) but put Danzig under League of Nations control to ensure that Polish ships can use the port.
 - g) Other ideas? *
- (Note: Remember that if you choose (b) you will split Germany into two. Think about the problems this might cause.)

Land in South-East Germany

- a) Make no change to Germany's borders.
- b) Give Upper Silesia (9) to the Polish people as part of their new nation.
- c) Same as (b) but let Germany keep the coal mines, steel works, etc.
- d) Divide Upper Silesia between Germany and Poland.
- e) Other ideas?

Russian land taken by Germany in 1918

(Note: after surrendering to the Germans in 1918, Russia gave up all her western provinces to Germany. These were Finland (23), Estonia (24), Latvia (25),



Key

German land

- 1 **Alsace-Lorraine.** Mixed French and German population. Taken from France in 1871.
- 2 **The Rhineland.** German population.
- 3 **Eupen and Malmédy.** Coal-mining areas. German population.
- 4 **North Schleswig.** Taken from Denmark in 1864. Slightly more Danes than Germans live there.
- 5 **South Schleswig.** Taken from Denmark in 1864. Slightly more Germans than Danes live there.
- 6 **West Prussia.** Mostly Polish population.
- 7 **Posen.** Mostly Polish population.

- 8 **Danzig.** German population. A major trading port.
- 9 **Upper Silesia.** Two thirds of the population speaks Polish. One of Germany's richest industrial areas.

Austro-Hungarian land

- 10 **Bohemia.**
- 11 **Moravia.**
- 12 **Slovakia.**
- 13 **Galicia.** Mostly Polish population.
- 14 **Austria.** German speaking population.
- 15 **Hungary.** Mixed Hungarian and Romanian population.
- 16 **Transylvania.** Most townspeople Hungarian, most peasants Romanian.
- 17 **Tyrol.** Italian population.
- 18 **Istria.** Italian population.
- 19 **Carinthia.** Mixed Austrian and Slav population.
- 20 **Slavonia.** Slav population.

- 21 **Dalmatia.** Slav population.
- 22 **Bosnia-Herzegovina.** Slav population.

Russian land

- 23 **Finland.** Finnish population.
- 24 **Estonia.** Estonian population.
- 25 **Latvia.** Latvian population.
- 26 **Lithuania.** Mostly Lithuanian population.
- 27 **White Russia.** Mixed Russian and Polish population.
- 28 **Poland.** Polish population.
- 29 **The Ukraine.** Mixed Russian and Ukrainian population. Russia's richest farming and industrial area.

Land in South-Eastern Europe

- 30 **Bessarabia.** Mixed Russian and Romanian population.
- 31 **Dedeagatch.** Mixed Greek and Turkish population.
- 32 **Thrace.** Mostly Turkish population.

Lithuania (26), White Russia (27), Poland (28), the Ukraine (29))

- a) Allow Germany to keep these provinces.
- b) Make all these provinces into independent nations.
- c) Return them all to Russia.
- d) Same as (b) but give the Ukraine and White Russia back to the Russians.
- e) Other ideas?

Reparations

- a) Germany to pay no reparations for war damage.
- b) Germany to pay some reparations for war damage to property in France, Belgium and Britain.
- c) Include a 'war guilt clause' in the treaty, blaming Germany for starting the war, and make her pay for all loss of life and property in Belgium, France and Britain (about £12,000,000,000).
- d) Same as (c) but set up a special committee to decide exactly how much Germany should pay.
- e) Other ideas?

Armaments

- a) Make no change to Germany's armed forces.
- b) Allow Germany to have no army, navy or air force. All weapons to be handed over to the Allies.
- c) Reduce Germany's armed forces to a point where she can defend herself from invasion but cannot attack other countries.
- d) Same as (c) but do not allow the navy to keep submarines, and abolish the air force.
- e) Same as either (c) or (d) *and* keep Allied armies of occupation in Germany to protect France against a possible attack.
- f) Other ideas?

Germany's overseas colonies

- a) Allow Germany to keep her colonies.
- b) Share the colonies out among the victorious Allies.
- c) Give the colonies independence so that they can become nations.
- d) Same as (c) but give them independence only when they are able to govern their own affairs. In the meantime, the Allies are to 'look after' the colonies. These mandates will be supervised by the League of Nations
- e) Other ideas?

Kaiser Wilhelm

(Note: after being overthrown in 1918, Kaiser Wilhelm fled to Holland.)

- a) Put the Kaiser on trial for 'war crimes' – death penalty if found guilty.
- b) No trial.
- c) Other ideas?

Decisions for a treaty with the Austro-Hungarian Empire

Before making any decisions, remember that some of the provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire had already formed themselves into independent nations. 10, 11 and 12 had united to become Czechoslovakia. 15 and 16 had become Hungary. 19, 20, 21 and 22 had joined with Serbia to become Yugoslavia. You should mark these onto your map before going any further.

Land in the north of the empire

- a) Give the province of Galicia (13) to Russia.
- b) Give Galicia to Czechoslovakia.
- c) Give Galicia to Poland.
- d) Allow Galicia to become an independent nation if the people want it. Find out what they want by letting them vote in a plebiscite.
- e) Other ideas?

Land in the centre of the empire

- a) Make Austria (14) and Hungary (15 and 16) into separate and independent states.
- b) Make Austria and Hungary into separate states but give Transylvania (16) to Romania.
- c) Give Austria to Germany and allow Hungary to be independent.
- d) Same as either (a) or (b) but prohibit Austria to unite with Germany.
- e) Other ideas?

Land in the south of the empire

- a) Give Tyrol (17), Istria (18) and Dalmatia (21) to Italy, as in the secret Treaty of London of 1915.
- b) Give only Tyrol and Istria to Italy and allow Yugoslavia to keep Dalmatia.
- c) Give Istria and Carinthia (19) to Austria so that she has an outlet to trading ports on the sea.
- d) Other ideas?

Reparations

- a) Austria and Hungary to pay no reparations.
- b) Austria and Hungary to pay some reparations for damage done to property in Italy, Yugoslavia, Romania and Russia.
- c) Include a 'war guilt' clause in the treaty and make Austria and Hungary pay for all loss of life and property in Italy, Yugoslavia, Romania and Russia. (Cost unknown, but many billions of pounds.)
- d) Same as (c) but set up a special committee to decide how much Austria and Hungary should pay.
- e) Other ideas?

Armaments

- a) Make no change to their armed forces.
- b) Allow no armed forces. All weapons to be handed over to the Allies.
- c) Reduce their armed forces to a point where they can defend themselves from invasion but cannot attack other countries.
- d) Same as (c) *and* keep Allied armies of occupation in the two countries to prevent possible attacks on neighbouring countries.
- e) Other ideas?

Decisions for a treaty with Turkey

(Note: only the European part of Turkey is included in this simulation.)

Land

- a) Make no change to Turkey's borders in Europe.
- b) Give Thrace (32) to Greece.
- c) Put the Turkish Straits under international control.
- d) (b) *and* (c).
- e) Other ideas?

Armaments

- a) Make no change to Turkey's armed forces.
- b) Allow Turkey to have no armed forces. All weapons to be handed over to the Allies.
- c) Allow Turkey enough armed forces to defend herself from invasion but not enough to attack her neighbours.
- d) Same as either (b) or (c) *and* keep Allied armies of occupation on both sides of the Turkish Straits to protect shipping.
- e) Other ideas?

Reparations

- a) Turkey to pay no reparations.
- b) Turkey to pay some compensation for damage done to Russian and Greek property.
- c) Turkey to pay for all damage and loss of life suffered by Russia, Greece, Britain, India, Australia, New Zealand, Arabia. (Cost unknown – many billions of pounds.)
- d) Same as (c) but set up a special committee to decide how much Turkey should pay.
- e) Other ideas?

Decisions for a treaty concerning South-East Europe

Romania

(Note: Romania fought on the side of the Allies from 1916 to 1918.)

- a) Give Bessarabia (30) to Romania.
- b) Give Transylvania (16) to Romania.
- c) Give Bessarabia *and* Transylvania to Romania.
- d) Make no change to Romania's borders.

Bulgaria

- a) Make no change to Bulgaria's borders.
- b) Give Dedeagatch (31) to Turkey.
- c) Give Dedeagatch to Greece.
- d) Either (b) or (c) *and* make Bulgaria pay reparations and reduce armaments.

World peace

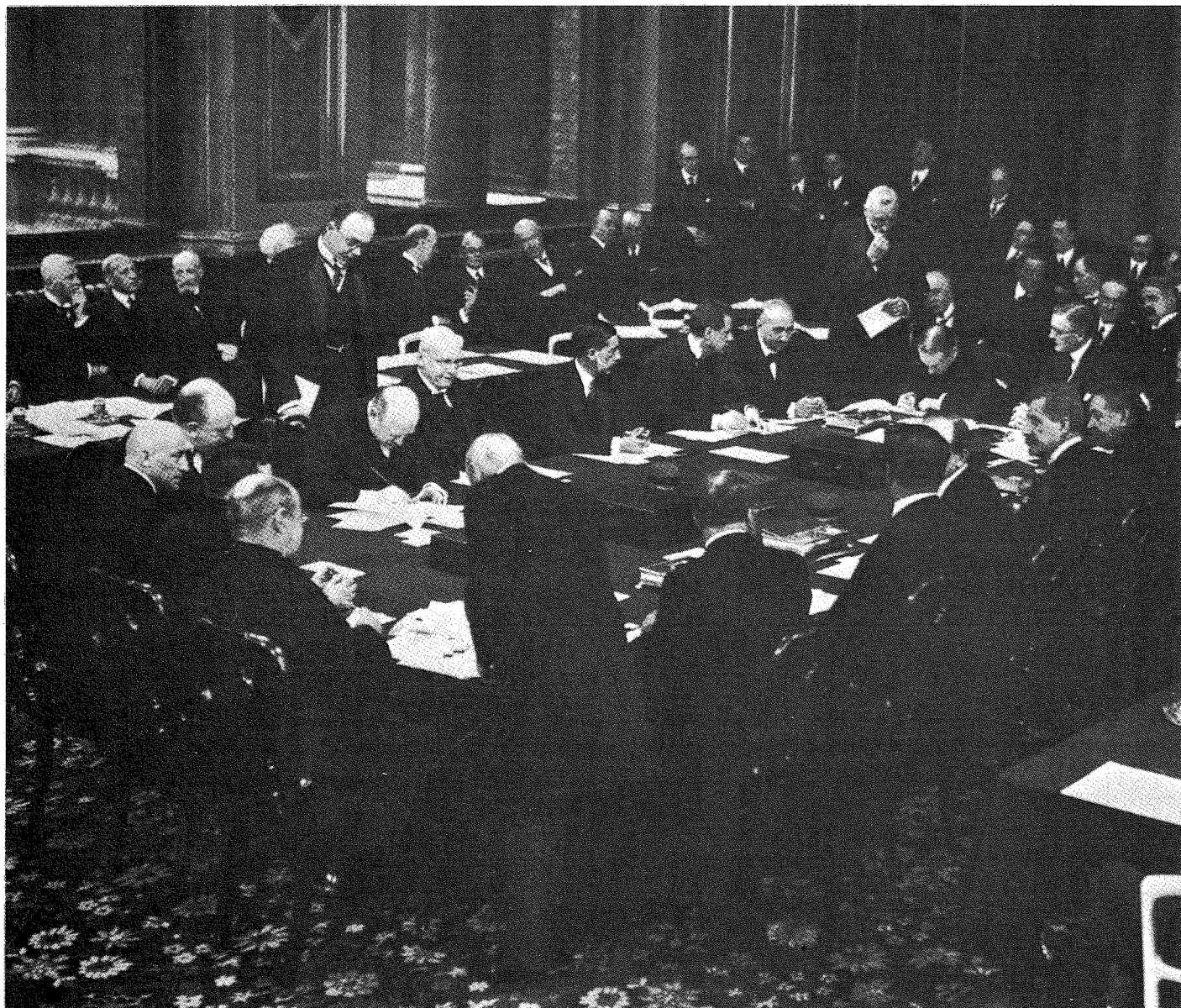
How will you make your peace treaties last?

- a) Create a League of Nations as suggested by Woodrow Wilson.
- b) No League of Nations. Any aggression by one of the defeated powers to be dealt with by Allied armies.
- c) Other ideas?

Work section

- A. How does your peace settlement compare with the Paris Peace Settlement of 1919–20? Answer these questions to find out what the differences are.
 - 1. Are any of the countries you have created different to the ones shown on the maps on pages 7 and 8? If so, which are they? In what ways are they different?
 - 2. Do any of the countries you have created include people of more than one nationality? If so, which are they? Which nationalities have you included in these countries? How does this differ from the Paris Peace Settlement?
 - 3. Have you made any country reduce its armed forces? If so, which are they? What reductions have you made? Does this differ from the Paris Peace Settlement?
 - 4. Have you blamed any country for starting the Great War? If so, which have you blamed? How does this compare with the Paris Peace Settlement?
 - 5. Have you made any of the defeated Central Powers pay reparations for war damage? If so, how much? How does this differ from the Paris Peace Settlement?
- B. If your peace settlement was different from the Paris Peace Settlement, answer the following questions. Explain each of your answers.
 - 1. Do you think that the defeated countries will accept your treaties as being fair?
 - 2. Are the nationalities in the new countries you have created likely to be happy with what you have given them?
 - 3. What steps have you taken to stop wars from happening in the future?
 - 4. Are you in full agreement with the other peace makers that you have made a good peace settlement?

IMPROVING THE PEACE – LOCARNO AND THE ‘NEW ERA’



The signing of the Locarno Treaties at the Foreign Office in London, 1 December 1925

You found out in the second part of this book that the Paris Peace Settlement was shattered by a series of vicious ‘little wars’ between 1919 and 1925. It seemed that the Great War had not been the ‘war to end all wars’.

In 1925 the politicians of Europe met again to look for ways of making a peace that would last.

The Locarno Treaties

This time they met on neutral territory, in the lakeside town of Locarno in the mountains of Switzerland, and this time their discussions were not dominated by the

Americans. The most important statesmen there were from Germany, France, Britain and Italy. Representatives from Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia also attended. Together they thrashed out the question of how to preserve the Peace Settlement of 1919.

The result of their discussions was a series of agreements known as the **Locarno Treaties**. The first was between France, Germany and Belgium. Quite simply, they agreed to respect the borders between them. In other words, France and Belgium would never again try to occupy the Ruhr, as they did in 1924, or any other part of Germany. Germany would

never again attack Belgium or France as she did in 1914. To make sure they kept their promises, Italy and Britain agreed to act as international policemen, keeping a watch on the borders to make sure they were never broken. Germany also accepted that the Rhineland must remain a demilitarised zone.

Several other Locarno treaties were made. France promised to protect Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia if Germany ever attacked them. All seven countries also agreed that they would never fight if an argument began between them: instead they would take their disputes to the League of Nations.

Gustav Stresemann, Germany's Foreign Minister at Locarno, wrote this in a letter to the French Foreign Minister shortly afterwards:

'The great majority of the German people stands firm for such a peace as this. Relying on the will to peace, we set our signature to this treaty. It is to introduce a new era of co-operation among the nations. It is to close the seven years that followed the War, by a time of real peace. . . . May later generations have cause to bless this day as the beginning of a new era.'

A 'new era'?

Was a new era beginning? In 1926 Germany was allowed to join the League of Nations. Gustav Stresemann signed his name on the League's Covenant, pledging his country never to go to war for any reason. Then, in 1928, sixty-five countries from all parts of the world signed an agreement known as the **Kellogg-Briand Pact**. The brainchild of the American and French foreign ministers, Frank Kellogg and Aristide Briand, it was a promise that none of the sixty-five countries would ever go to war as a way of solving their disputes.

Another promising sign of a new era was the work of the Disarmament Commission of the League of Nations. In 1921 the major naval powers of the world agreed at the **Washington Conference** to reduce the number of warships in their navies. Frequent meetings were held throughout the 1920s. Sixty nations agreed to meet in Geneva for the world's first major Disarmament Conference, due to start in 1932.

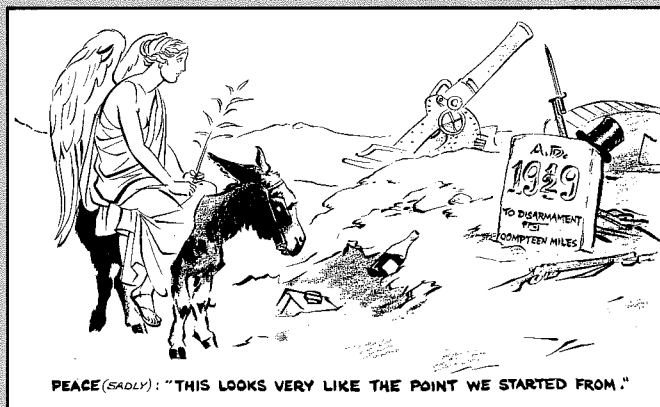
By the summer of 1929, the tenth anniversary of the Treaty of Versailles, the countries of Europe and the rest of the world seemed at last to have found ways of living in peace with each other.

Work section

- A. 'If the object of an international agreement be to satisfy everyone, Locarno was a very good treaty indeed.'
(A.J.P. Taylor, 1961)
1. For each of the seven countries that signed the Locarno Treaties, give *one* reason why you think that country was satisfied by them.
 2. Do you agree that 'Locarno was a very good treaty indeed', or can you see any faults in it? Explain your answer.

- B. Study this 1929 cartoon by the British cartoonist David Low, and read his explanation of what point he was trying to make in the cartoon.

'Peace is depicted here after ten weary years journey upon her pathetic mount, faced with the milestone of her starting-point. The only . . . difference in the scene is the presence of an empty champagne bottle and a stray top hat – evidence that some politicians have been holding another banquet to abolish war.'



1. a) Which conferences do you think David Low had in mind when he wrote that 'some politicians have been holding another banquet to abolish war'?
b) Why might some people in 1929 have this sort of critical opinion of the conferences?
 2. a) The Angel of Peace is riding on a donkey. Which organisation do you think the donkey represents?
b) Why should David Low portray this organisation as a donkey?
 3. Do you think David Low was being fair in his criticism of the attempts to find peace between 1919 and 1929? Explain your answer.
- C. Finish your notes on *The World Re-made* with a section on 'Peace Conferences of the 1920s'. Make notes from this chapter on:
1. The Locarno Treaties, 1925.
 2. The Kellogg-Briand Pact, 1928.
 3. The Washington Conference, 1921.

Revision exercises

- A. Check your knowledge of the Paris Peace Treaties by completing each of the following sentences in as much detail as you can.
1. By the Treaty of Versailles, Germany lost land to five of her neighbours; Alsace and Lorraine to. . .
 2. Germany's armed forces were. . .
 3. Clause 231 of the Treaty of Versailles stated that. . .
 4. All Germany's overseas colonies. . .
 5. Germans called the Treaty of Versailles a 'diktat', which means. . .
 6. Austria-Hungary was dealt with by the Treaties of. . .
 7. Three new, independent countries were created out of provinces of Austria-Hungary; these countries were. . .
 8. Much of Austria-Hungary's southern land was given to Serbia to form the new state of. . .
 9. The Treaty of Sèvres took away from Turkey. . .
 10. Five new countries were created in north-eastern Europe out of former Russian land; they were. . .
- B.
1. Explain what national self-determination means.
 2. List the peoples of Europe who gained the right of self-determination as a result of the Paris Peace Settlement.
- C. After the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, Marshal Foch said 'This is not peace, it is an armistice for twenty years.'
1. What do you think he meant by this?
 2. Suggest reasons why he turned out to be right.

Short extracts taken from: Page 5: *Cambridge Daily News*, 10 December 1918. Page 19: *Ten Years of the League of Nations*, League of Nations 1929. Page 21: *Purnell History of the Twentieth Century*, BPC Publishing 1968. Page 23: J. Watson, *Success in Twentieth Century World Affairs*, John Murray 1974; A. Wood, *Europe 1815-1960*, Longman 1984. Page 25: P. Vansittart, *Voices from the Great War*, Jonathan Cape 1981. Page 31: R.W. Breach (ed.), *Documents and Descriptions: the World since 1914*, Oxford University Press 1966; A.J.P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War*, Hamish Hamilton 1961; D. Richards, *An Illustrated History of Modern Europe*, Longman 1975.

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Cover: On their way to the scene of the ceremony of the signing of the Treaty of Versailles: Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau and President Wilson. 28 June 1919. Photo: Illustrated London News Picture Library.

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LONGMAN GROUP UK LIMITED

Longman House, Burnt Mill, Harlow, Essex CM20 2JE, England
 and Associated Companies throughout the World.

Published in the United States of America
 by Longman Inc., New York

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First published 1985
 Fourth impression 1989
 ISBN 0582 22370 9

Produced by Longman Group (FE) Ltd
 Printed in Hong Kong

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